THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

X

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Natick and Merrimac

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF

JOHN ELIOT'S NATICK

AND THE

NAME MERRIMAC

With Historical and Ethnological Notes

BY

WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOHN ELIOT'S NATICK.[*]

HE fact that this name, so closely identified with Rev. John Eliot's life, survives to designate the scene of his mission, now a prominent town in Massachusetts, as well as to indicate one of the leading dialects of

[*] Read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Section H, at Detroit, Mich., August, 1897, and printed in the American Anthropologist for September, 1897. Now reprinted with additions.

the Algonquian language, of which he has left some monumental examples, is deemed of sufficient importance to justify the appearance of this brief paper.*

Deacon Joseph Ephraim, an In-

* In 1686 a Mr. John Dunton, an English bookseller, visited Natick. He went out with a party to attend one of Mr. Eliot's lectures, and recorded the incidents of his visit as follows : " We had about twenty miles to Natick, where the best accommodations we could meet with were very course. We ty'd up our horses in two old barnes, that were almost laid in ruins. But there was no place where we could bestow ourselves, unless upon the green sward till the lecture began. While we were making discoveries around the Indian village, we were informed that the Sachem or the Indian king and his queen were there. The place, it is true, did not look like the royal residence, how-

dian of the Natick tribe, who lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century, is reported to have given the meaning of the name *Natick* as a " place of hills." This was accepted at the time, and has been

ever we could easily believe the report, and went immediately to visit their king and queen, and here my courage did not fail me, for I stept up and kissed the Indian queen, making her two very low bows, which she returned quite civilly. The Sachem was very tall and well limbed ; but had no beard, and a sort of a horse face. The queen was very well shaped, and her features might pass very well. She had eyes black as jet, and teeth white as ivory ; her hair was very black and long ; she was considerably up in years. Her dress was peculiar. She had sleeves of moose skin, very finely dressed and drawn with lines of various colors, in erratic work, and her buskins were of the same sort, her

handed down in histories and biog-
raphies to the present day. It has
been said, however, that Deacon
Ephraim understood very imper-
fectly his native tongue. For that
reason his interpretation has not
been regarded as of much value by
those who have made the language
a study.

mantle was of fine blue cloth, but was very
short and ty'd about the shoulders and at
the middle with a zone, curiously wrought
with white and blue beads into pretty
figures ; her bracelets and necklace were
of the same sort of beads, and she had a
little tablet upon her breast very finely
decked with jewels and precious stones.
Her hair was combed back and tied up
with a border which was neatly worked
with gold and silver " (Indian Miscellany,
Beach, p. 410).

There is a village in Rhode Island bearing the same name, and mentioned in Dr. Parsons' Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island, as "*Natick* falls and village, *Natchick* hill." In a note on the subject, written in 1894 by the late Hon. Amos Perry,* secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, he says: "Its Indian name was *Nittauke*, which, stripped of its superfluous letters (one *t* and the final *e*) and anglicized, became *Natick*." Its meaning is given in Roger Williams' Key to the Indian Language, volume 1, Rhode Island Historical

* Book of Minutes of Colonel John Jones, of Dedham, Mass., p. 13.

Society's Collection, p. 86, as fol-
lows: "*Auke* signifies earth or land;
Nittauke signifies my land."

In a letter dated April 22, 1894, in
same publication and following Dr.
Perry's remarks, the late Dr. D. G.
Brinton doubted the *Nittauke* deri-
vation and "votes in favor of the
native red man as against his schol-
arly white teacher"; accepting the
meaning given by Deacon Ephraim,
"a place of hills," and believing
"the name *Natick* to be simply a
shorter form of *Ma-natuck*, ex-
plained in Trumbull's Indian Names
in Connecticut, page 21, as that of
various prominent hills in that
state, and signifying 'a place of

observation or lookout '—as a place of observation probably some knoll near Natick, R. I., was prominent enough to receive the appellation."

In one of his letters connected with the Rhode Island State census of 1885, of which Dr. Perry was the superintendent, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull expressed dissatisfaction with the Indian explanation as given in the foregoing, and also a desire to see the Indian records of the town of Natick, R. I., in the hope of being able to shed light on the mooted question.*

The publication of the foregoing by Dr. Perry led to a letter from

* Book of Minutes, p. 14.

Mr. C. A. Downs of New Lebanon, N. H., which was printed in the publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society for January, 1895,* as follows : *"Natick*—R. W. gives *Nit-tauke*, my land, but he does not seem to use it as a name of a place. The idea embodied in this application of it to a locality was beyond the Indian mind. I agree with Dr. D. G. Brinton in your Jones' pamphlet so far. I do not find in the word the least sug-gestion of a hill, neither syllable nor letter.

"The late Judge Chandler E. Potter, of Manchester, N. H., a

* New Series, vol. ii. p. 262.

good Indian scholar, makes the following note : '*Natick* means a clearing or place free of trees, from the Indian words *naa*, bare, and *auke*, a place, the *t* being euphonic.'

" Rasle's vocabulary gives: '*Nate*, bare or cleared ; *Na-t-auke*, a clearing.' Rev. Edward Ballard, in Geographical Names on the Coast of Maine, Coast Survey Report, 1868, gives *Naddock*, written *Nuttake*, the same derivation, and cites a Penobscot Indian as using the word *Nātuah* as meaning an interval. All this is reasonable—a probable source and meaning of *Natick ;* but, knowing the literalness of the Indians in their names, I was not

quite satisfied without some evidence that *Natick*, in whole or part, was a clearing, which no one seems to have undertaken to prove, so I began my search in this direction. In an account of the settlement I find this: ' In this place the grass was cut and timber felled,' etc. This shows that there was a clearing, for otherwise there would be no grass; and, so far as I am concerned, the question is settled— *Natick* means a clearing. This meaning rests on etymology and facts. No other does."

The foregoing conclusion would be acceptable and the question settled if it were based, as Mr.

Downs states, on "etymology and facts"; but, alas! he is mistaken in his premises, for his authorities are, without an exception, in error or misconstrued.

In the first place, it would be well and highly desirable to learn in which Algonquian dialect can be found *naa*, "bare," and where in Father Rasle's Dictionary of the Abnaki appears "*nate*, bare or cleared; *Na-t-auke*, a clearing." *

* "Nate" was probably misconstrued from "*Nétek8*, lieu de bois franc" (see Rasle's Dictionary, in Mem. Amer. Acad., vol. i. pp. 386, 396), the main theme of which, as the succeeding word, *Neteg8icke* (= Otchipwe, *Mitigwaki*, "forest") bears witness, connotes a "tree," and not "bare or clear."

The most diligent search through the principal grammars and vocabularies of the family fails to reveal any Algonquian radical with such meaning, and in fact there are grave doubts as to its existence.

Again, the Penobscot *nātuah*, quoted by Ballard, while it may be freely translated "an interval"—a localism in some parts of the United States and British provinces specifically for a low, level tract of land, a meadow between a river and upland, between hills, etc.—does not literally refer to "a clearing," but actually to a "place between" or "in the middle." The same elements, the *t* and *s*, being alternating

letters or sounds, are found as com-
ponents of place-names in varying
forms throughout the whole Algon-
quian area—such as *Nashua, Asha-
wah,* etc. It also appears in the
name of Eliot's fifth praying-town
Nashope or *Nashobah,* of which
further mention will be made ;
hence any etymology founded on
this word, as illustrated by Mr.
Downs, must be necessarily errrone-
ous as far as *Natick* is concerned.

In the second place, the supposed
identity of the Rhode Island *Natick*
with that of John Eliot's *Natick*
must be eliminated from the ques-
tion, for the reason that the two
were not originally of the same

origin and derivation. Since Dr. Trumbull "expressed a desire to see the Indian records of the town of Natick, R. I.," an early notation has been brought to light and published. It is displayed on the "plat of the land comprised in the original purchase of the Providence Plantations," made about 1677,* in the form of *Na-cheek*, and in a "declaration" made same year, "a place called by ye Indians *Natick* or *Nachick*." † This indicates positively to students of the language that *Na-cheek* was nearer to the

* See facsimile, Rider's Rhode Island Historical Tract, 2d series, No. 4, pp. 100, 101.

† *Ibid.*, p. 86.

true native pronunciation than *Natick*—a notation in this instance probably copied colloquially from the sounds of the better known name for ease of utterance, for at that period John Eliot's *Natick* had acquired considerable celebrity throughout New England on account of his labors there.*

The Narragansett *Na-cheek* or *Nachick* is the equivalent of the Massachusetts *Nashik* (Eliot, Jere-

* *Natick*, as a place designation, also appears at Martha's Vineyard. In a record of 1727 we find noted *the island of Natick alias Capoag*. The latter was the original name, which goes back to a very early period. This *Natick* was undoubtedly borrowed from the better-known Indian town, by some of the Mayhews probably.

miah xlix. 32), "a corner," and was
bestowed on Rhode Island soil
because the locality was "a bound-
ary place," "a corner," where the
lines met in some conveyance of
land by the Indians to the whites,
or else was "a corner" on some
Indian path or trail.*

In discussing the true signifi-
cance and etymology of the name

* Roger Williams remarks : "Obs.: It is
admirable to see what paths their naked,
hardened feet have made in the wilder-
nesse in most stony and rockie places."

The "Plat" shows distinctly that *Na-
cheek*, as spelled, was a corner on the
"*Pautuxet* River," where several lines
terminated. The river at this particular
point makes quite a noticeable turn, first
flowing southwest to this point or angle,
and then abruptly turning southeast.

Natick or *Natik*, the two variations as written and applied by Rev. John Eliot to designate his most celebrated Indian praying-town, and as retained in the first form to the present day, one main factor regarding the problem has never been taken into consideration, that factor being found in the circumstance that the names of some of Eliot's praying-towns, so called, while they are in the main from the dialect with which he was familiar, are not framed in accordance with aboriginal ideas or their method of constructing place-names, but are appellatives made up from the native language or altered from an

original name, as some are by Eliot himself, in order to indicate some religious expression or other sentiments connected with the early building of the towns. In this peculiarity, if we may so term it, he undoubtedly followed the example of the Hebrew patriarchs, as is exemplified in the nomenclature of their ancient cities—*Hebron*, for instance, which in the Hebrew signifies association or friendship.

In proof of this characteristic of Eliot, his first town, founded in 1646, in the township of Newton, near Roxbury, Mass., was purchased by a committee appointed by the general court of Massachu-

setts, "for yᵉ incouragmt of yᵉ In-
dians to live in an orderly way
amongst us . . . & further, to set
downe rules for their impreg & en-
ioying thereof."

This place was called *Nonantum*
or *Noonatomen* by Eliot, which
signifies, in English, "rejoicing."
The word, according to Dr. Trum-
bull, means literally "I rejoice," or
"I am well minded." The form
Noonatomen (or *Nonantomum*) is
plural, "we rejoice." * Dr. Trum-
bull, in his Names in Connecti-
cut, modifies this, but without
much difference, as "*Nonantam*,

* Algonquian Bibliography, Pilling, p.
177.

i. e., he blesses." It is well to ob-
serve that no Indian would have
applied such a name to a locality,
for the reason that their own names
are invariably descriptive in one
way or another of the place desig-
nated. *Nonantum* was afterward
abandoned and *Natick* became the
first praying-town in the list as
handed down by Eliot in his letters.

The second town in order was
Ponkipog, varied as *Pakeunit* or
Pakemit; the third was *Hassunni-
mesut;* the fourth, *Okommaka-
mesut;* the fifth, *Nashope* or *Nasho-
bah*, was situated about twenty-five
miles west-northwest of Boston.
In this term we find the equivalent

of the Penobscot *Nātuah* (= *Nashua*), as quoted by Ballard, signifying "in the middle." The sixth town was *Wamesut*, or *Pawtucket;* the seventh, *Panatucket*, "is the upper part of *Merimak*-Falls, so called because of the noise the water makes."

The eighth town, *Magunkaquok*, or *Majunkaquog*, was situated at the remotest bounds of Natick. "This town was a gathering together of some of the Nipmuk Indians, who left their own places and sit together in this place and have given up themselves to pray unto God."*

* Algonquian Bibliography, Pilling, p. 178.

Dr. Trumbull * says : "*Magunkah-quog,   Makunkokoag,   Magunkook* (Nip'm),—a tract of land about 300 acres, principally in Hopkington, Mass., which was granted by Massachusetts to be occupied by the praying Indians.   Gookin (1674) writes the name of the Indian town *Magunkaquog*, and says that the signification of the name is 'a place of great trees.'   This would be decisive were it not that Eliot, who could not be mistaken as to the meaning of the name of a town that he had a chief hand in planting, wrote, in 1669,† *Mag∞onkkomuk*,

* Names in Connecticut, pp. 18, 19.

† MS. Petition, in Library of New York Historical Society.

which means 'the place (or town) of the gift'—*i. e.*, 'granted place,' from *Mag∞onk*, 'gift,' and *komuk*, 'place.' Possibly this, the original name, had, when Gookin wrote, been changed by the Indians themselves to the more familiar and more easily pronounced *Magunkook*, 'place of the great tree,' or the plural *Magunkakook* (= *Mogkunkakauke*), 'place of great trees.' "

The ninth town was *Quanatusset*. The names of these towns, with few exceptions, possibly, seem to be framed in accordance with Indian custom, but for our purpose, as they have not been critically

analyzed, it is unnecessary to refer
to them further.

Natick now presents itself for our
consideration and analysis. In ex-
amining the materials of the struc-
ture of Algonquian place-names, in
order to translate them, it may be
stated that when one is obliged
to account for the insertion of a
supposed superfluous letter by eu-
phony translations so arrived at are
generally incorrect and worthless.
In the present case it is absolutely
certain that as Eliot was the princi-
pal agent in the baptism of the
town, he did not insert the *t* for
euphonic reasons, but because it be-
longed there as a part of the pri-

mary root or stem by him employed. This Algonquian verbal root *nat* has the meaning of " searching," " seeking," " fetching," " going after something "; and not only is it constant in all dialects of the family, but it preserves its independent significance, however combined, as resolution of its synthesis by analysis plainly teaches.

In illustration of this constancy of form and significance in the Cree of the far northwest, Howse * gives us *Nátik*, " fetches he "; -*ik* being the terminal or inverse form of the third person singular, which,† while

* Cree Grammar, pp. 52, 53.
† This grammatical form is frequently

having the same spelling as one of
Eliot's forms, *i. e., Natik*, is not
grammatically the same. We find
it in the eastern Cree (Lacombe),
Nât (Rac.), "*Aller quérir, chercher,
aller après*," etc.; Nipissing (Couq.),
*Nat-, voy Nadjet naj; "aller
quérir";* Abnaki (Rasle's), *ne-nat-
8'h8bé, "Je cherche à boire";*
Otchipwe (Baraga), *Nad-in*, " to
fetch." In the Massachusetts (Eliot
and Cotton) it is of frequent
usage in many cluster-words, such
as *Nat-ineah* (Genesis xxxvii. 16),
" to search," " to seek," *i. e.*, " to go

used by Eliot, as in Psalm xxvii. 5, *nut-
adtash-uk*, " me hides he "; *nuk-quenashh-
uk*, " me sets up he."

after something by seeing, observing, or marking"; *Nat-au-wuhae* (Jeremiah xxiii. 12), "their visitation," *i. e.*, "their seeking rest"; *Nat-au-wompu* (Genesis xxii. 13), "he looked," *i. e.*, "he searched round about" (compare Delaware *Nattawoapin*); Delaware (Brinton) *Nat-en*, "to fetch"; "properly, to go after something" (Anthony). These illustrations could be extended to a much greater degree from all the foregoing * and other cognate dialects. Enough, however, are displayed in their synthe-

* Compare especially the various compounds given under *Nät* in Lexique Langue des Cris, Lacombe.

sis to indicate beyond a shadow of
doubt the primary significance of
the verbal root *nat*, as well as to
prove that it is the main theme of
Eliot's *Natick*, which, with its loca-
tive case-ending *-ick*, signifies "the
place of search" or "the place of
(our) search." *   In most remark-

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* There is another curious relation in
connection with this subject—if a sugges-
tion may be permitted, although it may be
in error, but as far as our studies have
progressed it is not—that *-atin*, *-adin*,
-adn, or *-atin*, as it is dialectically varied,
and which in composition signifies " a hill
or mountain," may be possibly a derivative
from the same root, so derived perhaps be-
cause " a hill or mountain " was " a place
to seek for something from " ; hence " a
place of observation." If this suggestion
is worthy of thought, it becomes evident
that Deacon Ephraim could see " a hill "

able confirmation of this interpreta-
tion, Eliot, in a letter written in the
summer of 1650, the year of the
planting of the town, relates the
progress of his mission and the
difficulties in seeking for a suitable
town site in the following words:

in the name, but owing to his lack of
knowledge of the primary significance of
the root, he did not comprehend the true
inwardness of the term as used by his fore-
fathers, and, as Dr. Perry remarks in the
work before quoted, "He spoke according
to the light that was in him."

I have been able to verify this sugges-
tion from Eliot's Bible, as the following
two compounds show in their analysis, viz.,
num-menuhk-odtinn-eah-uk, "he sought
me out very diligently," *i. e.*, "me strong
seeks he" (2 Timothy i. 17); *wanashqu-
odtinn-uook*, "top of the mountains," *i. e.*,
"top-mountains on" (Hosea iv. 13).

" But I declared unto them how necessary it was that they should first be civilized by being brought from their scattered and wild course of life into civill Cohabitation and Government . . . and therefore I propounded unto them, *that they should look out some place to begin a towne* into which they might resort, and there dwell together, enjoy Government and be made ready and prepared to be a People among whom the Lord might delight to dwell and Rule. . . We accordingly attended thereunto *to search for a fit place*, and finally after sundry journeyes and travells to severall places, *the Lord did by his*

speciall providence and answer of prayers, pitch us upon the place where we are at Natick." *

* Algonquian Bibliography, Pilling, p. 178.

Eliot writes (Pilling's Bibliography, p. 179) : " In prosecution of this work in the year 1650 ; we begun by the Lords assistance our first Towne at Natick, where we built a Fort, and one dwelling house."

Under date of April 25, 1651, he again writes : " We have set out some part of the Town in several streets measuring out and dividing of Lots, which I set them to doe, and teach them how to do it ; many have planted Apple-Trees, and they have begun divers Orchards, it is now planting time and they be full of business. . . We have also begun a Pallizadoe Fort, in the midst whereof we intend a meeting-house and a Schoole-house, but we are in great want of Tooles, and many necessaries, and when we cannot goe we must be content to creep : this present week I am going to

Surely nothing but an actual translation of the name by Eliot himself could be any stronger than

Pawtucket the great Fishing-place upon Merimek, where I hear sundry doe expect my coming with a purpose to submit themselves unto the Lords hand."

The Indians of Natick being now, as Mr. Eliot states in 1652 : " Come under Civil Order and fixing themselves in Habitations and bemeaning themselves to labor, as doth appear by their works of Fencings Buildings &c., and especially in building without any English Workmans help or direction a very sufficient Meeting-House, of fifty feet long twenty five foot broad, near twelve foot high betwixt the joints, wel sawen and framed (which is a specimen not only of their singular ingenuity, and dexterity, but also of some industry) I say this being so, now my argument of delaying them from entering into Church Estate was taken away."

" Mr. Eliot's original purpose was to

these words of his which, after nearly two and one-half centuries of time, come forward to corroborate this linguistic study.

have brought all the 'praying Indians' together at Natick. 'But it so fell out,' he writes in 1654, 'that because the Cohannet (or Dorchester) Indians desired a place which they had reserved for themselves, and I finding that I could not at that time pitch there without opposition from some English, I refused that place and pitched at Natick, where I found no opposition at present. The choyse of mine did move in the Cohannet Indians a jealousie that I had more affection unto these other Indians than unto them."

ADDITIONS TO THE ESSAY.

Since this essay was first written, the names of the old praying-towns, as here set forth, have been very carefully examined, and some are found to be, like *Nonantum* and *Natick*, of Eliot's naming. This fact makes them all an interesting series, as the following studies indicate.

Ponkipog (*Pohki-pog*), "a pure or clear spring or water-place"; *Pakemit*, or *Pake-unit*, "at the clear-place" (*Pahkeonk*, "a cleansing," Eliot, Leviticus, xv. 13), "*Takes its name from a spring that riseth out of red-earth*" (Book of the Indians, Drake, ii. p. 114). Eliot writes: "Where the Sachems of the Bloud (as they term their Chief Royal-Line) had their residence and rights, which are mostly alienated to the English." Now Stoughton, Mass.

Hassunnimesut or *Hassanamesitt*, Eliot states, was the "third town, in order, dignity and antiquity." This signifies "at the place of stones," or "little stones," *Has-sunnemesash* (pl.), Eliot (Proverbs xx. 17), "gravel," *i. e.*, little stones; *Hasunne*,

" stone," *-mes*, " diminutive," *-ash*, plural termination. *Okommakamesit*, or *Ogquon-ikongquamesut*, as it was more fully written by Eliot, was an Indian fort near Marlborough, Mass. Gookin (History of the Christian Indians) wrote it *Okkokonimesit*, but Eliot's longer form reveals its story very plainly, viz., *Ogquon*, or *Ogkem*, "numbered," "counted," "told off," *-uk-kongquam*, "to come upon," with its diminutive locative, *-mes-ut*, *Ogquon-uk-kongqua-mes-ut*, " at the place numbered to come upon " ; that is to say, ".a place numbered among those regularly visited by Eliot," " I was lately among them [Mr. Eliot writes], and they desered me to settle a stated lecture amongst them as in sundry other Praying Towns." It was probably about this time he gave them the name, for it does not occur earlier [1670], and his remarks bear out the meaning and etymology. *Nashope*, or *Nashobah*, was situated near " Magog Pond," in Littleton, Mass. Eliot writes : " This place lying in the Road-way which the Mauquaogs [Mohawks] haunted, was much molested by

them, and was one year wholly deserted, but this year [1670] the people have taken courage, and dwell upon it again." While, as before stated, *Nashaue* signifies "in the middle," "midst," "between," Eliot employs the same root figuratively for "spirit," "soul," "breath," with varying affixes, according to its grammatical form, as in *Nashauanit* (Isaiah xxxii. 15), "the spirit of God"; *Nashauonk* (Ecclesiastes i. 14), "a spirit"; *Nashauonk* (Ezra xxxvii. 5), "breath." This is, according to primitive thought, an invisible thing, mediating between soul and body. The applications in this case are due to Eliot, for the Indian originally had no idea of such conceptions. Therefore, it may be, in order to have the name in accord with the others, that Eliot intended to convey the idea that the village was "of the spirit," *Nashaboh.*

Wamesut, or *Pawtuckett*, was situated "at the bottom of the great Falls, on the great River Merymak, and at the falling in of Concord river." *Wamesut* or *Wammesut*, "at the beloved-place," carries out Eliot's ideas, while *Pawtuckett* carries out

the Indian, " at the falls," " *Pautuck* (which signifies a fall), because there the fresh water falls into the salt-water." Indian Test. in Col. Rec., iii. 276 (Trumbull's Names in Connecticut, p. 49). Now part of the city of Lowell, Mass.

Panatucket describes the rapids above the falls, *i. e.* " at the falling stream," Abnaki (Rasle), *Rapide chute d'eau Pañntek8.*

Quanatusset is often found numbered among the new praying-towns, but Eliot, whose authority cannot be questioned, assigns it a place among the older, and writes [1670] : " The ninth place *Quanatusset*, is the last of our Praying Towns, whose beginnings have received too much discouragement, but yet the seed is alive ; they are frequently with me." Trumbull says : " *Quinetus' set*, *Quantisset* (Nip'm); an Indian village ' ab 6m. south [east] of *Maanexit*' (Gookin), on Thompson hill near the centre of the town, *Quanutusset*, Eliot : *Quatissik*, *Quatiske*, Mass. Rec., iv. (2) 357-8. ' The ruins of an old Indian fort,' stood on this hill in 1727,

Col. Rec. Lands, iv. 539" (Names in Connecticut, p. 61). This name also seems to have the ring of Eliot's work, although it has been difficult to decide upon the application of the term to the place, viz.: *Quan*, " long" (in time or space), *nutussit*, "my doing," "my working," "my supplying" (see the verbal form in the 3d person *wutusseneau*, "they have supplied," Eliot, 1 Corinthians xvi. 17). This verb, or its predicative root *ussu*, expresses animate action, and is the basis of many Algonquian verbs. *Quan-utuss-es-et* is its probable etymology—" at the place long my supply," or " I have long supplied "; perhaps figuratively shown in Eliot's expression, " they are frequently with me."

There were a number of other villages of the Christian Indians, which afterward came into being, that were styled the new praying-towns. Among the most important of these were *Manchage*, *Chabanakongkomum*, *Maanexit*, *Wabquassit*, *Pakachoog*, *Weshakim*, and *Waenuntug*. These, as named by Gookin, included also *Quanatusset*. *Manchage*, the first men-

tioned, was written by Eliot *Mônuhchogok* (Massachusetts Archives, Indians, i. 146). It is possible this may be intended for *Men-uhkhikook*, "Ye shall be strengthened" (1 Peter v. 10). The second, as written by Eliot *Chaubunakongkomuk*, means "a boundary-place." *Maanexit*, Trumbull suggests, is either from *Mayano*, "where there is a path," or *Mayanuk*, "when (or where) he gathers them together." The latter is preferable, but as Eliot wrote it *Manänexit*, it may have been from *Manunne*, "meek-ness," "gentleness"—*Manunne-es-it*, "a place of meekness." *Wabquasset*, or *Wa-buhquoshish*, as Eliot wrote it, Trum-bull has suggested (Names in Connecticut), "originally belonged to some particular locality where the Indians obtained flags used for making mats, *i. e.*, a covering-place," but as Eliot's form has the terminal of the 2d person singular in -*ish*, "Ye are covered," or "sheltered," is a better transla-tion (*Abuhquósu*, "it is covered," Ezra xli. 16). *Pakachoog* seems to have the animate plural termination, *Pakodch-oog*, "they are finished, completed, perfect." *Weshakim*

is seemingly also the Narragansett term for the "sea," of which Trumbull remarks (Narr. Club Ed. R. W.'s Key, chap. xviii, note) : "*Wechêkum*, was perhaps a name given by the Indians of the sea-coast, to the ocean, as the great ' producer,' of their staple food, fish ; from *Wutcheken* (Eliot), ' it yields,' ' produces,' ' brings forth,' " *i. e.*, the fruit of Eliot's labors! *Waeuntug* (= *Wâénu*, " round about," *-tugk*, " a tree ") completes the list.

THE NAME MERRIMAC.*

IT is susceptible of demonstration that in the majority of cases it is almost useless to attempt the translation of these significant appellatives, such as Merrimac, unless we have the contemporary facts relating to such names. If no search has been made for this historic and linguistic material among the early records and elsewhere and these aids are

wanting, an etymology is almost sure to be evolved at variance with their true composition and application.

The Merrimac River was one of the most famous fishing streams in New England ; and in the early days its shores were frequented every spring by both the Indians and whites for that purpose. In fact many of the early writers refer to the two great fishing stations so frequented, called Namaskeag, and Pawtucket ; * from this, the name

* Eliot wrote in 1649 (Pilling's Bibliography, p. 178) : " I had and still have a great desire to go to a great fishing-place, *Namaske* upon *Merimak*. . . But in the Spring, when I should have gone, I was

has been supposed to denote some kind of fishing-place ; a supposition which is quite natural and seemingly borne out by the form of the name.

The name Merrimac, however, like the names of the fishing-stations, had its birth in the Massachusetts dialect, therefore we must look to the works of Rev. John Eliot, the so-called apostle of the Indians, for its origin and etymology. Eliot states that he was a frequent visitor to the river, for the

not well, it being a sickly time, so that I saw the Lord prevented me that journey ; yet when I went to Pautuket another fishing-place, where from all parts about they met together," etc.

purpose of Christianizing the In-
dians, and that two of his promi-
nent " praying towns " were located
there, one above * and the other
below † the great falls.

In his " Brief Narrative of the
Progress of the Gospel amongst the
Indians of New England, in the
year 1670 " ‡ he remarks : " The
seventh town *Panatuket* is the up-
per part of *Merimak* Falls ; *so
called because of the noise the water
makes.*" It is evident from this
almost unimpeachable statement

* Panatucket, "at the falling-stream or
at the rapids."

† Pawtucket, " at the falls in the stream."

‡ Reprint, Boston, 1868 ; also, Pilling's
Bibliography, p. 181.

that the term originally designated
the great falls at Lowell, Mass., and
from that circumstance the river
took its name. The reasons given
must be considered decisive, pro-
vided they can be substantiated
from linguistic and other sources,
without which we cannot be sure
that even Eliot was right.

First, in order to show this satis-
factorily, we shall be obliged to
quote some fragments of history
and deductions drawn therefrom,
bearing on its true form. The
charter of 1628–29, to the Governor
and Company of the Massachusetts
Bay, in New England, recites the
bounds of the Plymouth Council's

grant to Sir Henry Rosewell and others,* naming "a greate river there comonlie called *Monomack*, alias *Merriemack*, and a certain other river there called Charles river, being in the bottome of a certaine bay there comonlie called *Massachusetts*, alias *Mattachusetts*, alias *Massatusetts* bay." Of the last three variations, the late Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in his letter on the name *Massachusetts*,† has shown that the first was the correct form, and the others erroneous. He says: "Whence these aliases

* Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 4.
† Proceedings, Amer. Antiq. Soc., October, 1867.

came it is not now easy to ascertain ; the carelessness of one clerk, or the superabundant caution of another or the illegibility of the minutes from which the council's grant was drafted or the patent of 1629, engrossed, may well enough account for their introduction. The patent confirmed the bounds of the earlier grant (March, 1628) aliases and all." The foregoing remarks may apply equally as well in the present case, although Dr. Trumbull does not mention our subject. Some of the early forms are *Menemake* (map, 1631), *Monumack* (1654), *Monumach*, alias *Merrimach* (Josselyn's Voy., 1674), *Monumack*

(1721); and there are possibly others. This testimony from the archives fully warrants us in accepting *Monomack*, or *Monumach*, as representing more clearly the Indian utterances of the name; while *Merrimack*, containing the *r* sounds, which Eliot states were not pronounced by the Massachusetts Indians, became, on account of ease of utterance, an accepted colloquialism among the colonists, without the slightest consideration for its true significance, and so perpetuated to the present time, as has been the case with all our adopted Indian names.

Second, as to its etymological

derivation. Taking these early
forms, together with Eliot's dictum,
that the falls were "*so called because
of the noise which the waters make,*"
it will be observed that the mean-
ing must be hidden in its main stem
manum, monom, or *monum;* also
bearing in mind that, in the Massa-
chusetts of John Eliot, the element
man, mon, or *mun,* is used inter-
changeably even in the same verse,
as we shall presently exhibit with
some illustrations.

The only cluster word which
Eliot employs—the writer has
found none other—containing the
component *manum* the follow-
ing verse affords the best illus-

tration for our purpose, viz. (Isaiah xvii. 13), *Wutohtimoinash pish munumuhkemooash onatuh manumuhkemoouk monatash nippeash,* "The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters." Of the two words or concrete terms above quoted, *munum-uhk-emoo-ash* and *manum-uhk-emoo-uk,* the first has the inanimate plural termination in *-ash,* and the second that of the third person in *-uk, manum,* or *munum,* "noise, sounds, *i. e.,* a groaning mysterious noise," like the dashing of waves on the shore,*

* Otchipwe (Baraga) *Mamadwéashka,* "The waves are roaring"; *Mamadwé,* "groaning"; *ashka,* "at the end of a syllable, alludes to the waves on the shore of a lake."

is the only portion belonging to the main theme ; the remainder belongs to the grammar. In other words, *uhk* is an energizing particle inserted between the root and formative to denote continuous action ; *-emoo* is a formative of motion with the inflection which Eliot employs in such words as *was-emoo-og*, " they flee " (Isaiah xxx. 17) ; *oos-emoo-moh*, " his fugitives " (Isaiah xv. 5). Hence we have the whole passage nearly literally : " The Nations (*i. e.*, tribes, belongings, or totems they are of) shall with noises continually flee like noises continually fleeing of his many waters."

In " *Monumack* alias *Merrimack*,"

therefore, we have the form of a conditional verbal, denoting a place where the action of a verb is performed, *i. e.*, "where there is a noise," or "a place of noises," *i. e.*, of water falling. Thus from his own linguistic labors are the words of Rev. John Eliot confirmed.

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